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243 peel, to take off the skin"), the ear is stripped, and the silk (*buybúy*) is removed.

Women carry corn in baskets; men carry it on poles: to do this, they usually bind the ears in bundles of ten by means of the dried husks, leaving the stripped ears dangling underneath.

Aúrabón is stuck in one of the bunches of corn ears, at the place where they have been garnered, in order to cause the supply to last long. *Anrabón* is a variant of *tazaúŕabón*: this herb is used in rice granaries for the same purpose.

Of all the varieties of corn known to the Isneg, the most remarkable is the *simtó- ballit* (literally: bill of the *ballit*-bird), whose ears grow at the top of the stalk (not at the side), and whose small grains are of [265] a very dark purple hue. It is eaten especially by people who *maúgabí*, that is, who are in mourning and to whom rice is taboo.

Whenever the Isneg need corn, either to feed the chickens or to prepare corn meal for themselves, they shell it (*magburá-*) with the fingers and throw away the cobs (*úkal*) together with the dry husks that remain attached to them.

2. TARO

244 Taro or *siwáy* (Colocasia esculentum, [L.] Schott.) is extensively cultivated by the Isneg. Besides the rhizome and the petioles (*pólon*), which are eaten all over the Philippines, the Isneg also consume the blades of the leaves (*atáń*: entire leaf) of most all varieties raised by them. The inflorescence and the rootlets (*ramút*; also said of the roots of tubers: sweet potatoes, etc.) are the only parts of the taro that are useless.

The leaf blades are usually cut into shreds and cooked in bamboo tubes placed over the fire, where they are crushed with a pestle, together with chile: this dish, called *sinursúr*, is the specialty of Apayaw.

To plant taro (*magtuwáy*), the woman uses the *paló-* (hoe), the *saguwá-* (dibble) or a special dibble called *itutuná-* or *intutuná-*, which consists of a very thick (sometimes up to four inches in diameter), long (sometimes up to two yards) and sharp stick of any kind of hard wood. The latter is also used for transplanting tobacco seedlings and for planting sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, etc. She digs or bores a comparatively large hole in the ground and inserts (*sulaúlan*) a *xábit*, which consists of a shoot to which the upper part of the rhizome, cut off from the rest, is left attached. Besides *xábit*, suckers or *ároy*

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are also planted; but these *ároy* are rarely abundant and they are usually very small, so that *rábit* are much more generally used.

Taro requires very little care. The most common enemy of the *síwáy* and of other vegetables as well, is the *arábat*, a large green worm or caterpillar, almost as thick as a finger.

As soon as the leaves are sufficiently large, they are plucked (*manaxitán*) in small quantities, according to the needs of the moment. This is done by pinching them off (*kiltónan*; also said of gathering betel leaves) or by cutting the petioles with the *ikó*-knife.

Before the Isneg woman digs up (*magtaggáp*) the rhizomes of a given field of taro (*síwáy*), she places one or both of the following amulets next to the largest of the taro plants. This particular *síwáy* must be left in the field, without being tampered with.

Takkág líńan, mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxáy*-hut.

Ińkaxánay: A low grass, growing almost anywhere.

If the first rhizome happens to be a small one, this means bad luck, and no large ones will be gathered that day. Therefore the only thing to do is to go home and try one's luck the next day.

When all the taro rhizomes have been gathered, they are cleaned (*maglagsíw*; also said of washing yams and sweet potatoes) somewhere in a stream of running water.

Here follow the names of a few varieties of taro:

The *xa-gád*: Its rhizomes are very watery, and its leaves cause itching in the throat.

The *bilókoń*, *batíkoń* or *baníkoń*: This is one of the least esteemed varieties. Its leaves are completely green and cause severe itching: therefore usually young leaves (*ulxút*) only are used for viands.

The *rabó-*: This is one of the largest varieties. Its rhizome is almost as big as a jar, and has a greenish skin. Its leaves are very broad, and cause considerable itching: therefore they are edible only when mixed with chile.

3. SWEET POTATOES

The sweet potato or *kamusí* (Ipomoea batatas, L.) is less extensively cultivated in Apayaw than in any other district of the Mountain Province, probably on account of its tendency to become fibrous (*naranút*), in which case, of course, it is not very palatable.

A garden or part of a garden where sweet potatoes are planted is called *kamusiyán*.

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244 *Kamusí* may be planted in June, July or August, and it takes the tubers three months to develop.

To plant sweet potatoes, the Isneg woman first gathers (*maggásad*) a certain amount of *kamusí*-vines (*zásad*), and then sticks them in holes made in the ground by means of the *paló-* (hoe) or of some kind of a dibble.

They need almost no care, and when the vines have produced young shoots (*otóń*) the tips of the latter are gathered (*manaxiotóń*; said also of cowpeas) for vegetables.

As soon as the tubers are sufficiently developed, the Isneg women start gathering them (*magkamusí*), according to their needs. The *kamusí* of a given field are rarely dug up (*ragkatán*; said also of yams, not of taro) all at a time.

Very few varieties are known. Here are the names of some of them:

The *kamusí áto* (literally: dog's sweet potato): Not much esteemed; its color resembles that of the yolk of an egg.

The *kamusí ilóko* (literally: Iloko's sweet potato): Good, even when eaten raw, but rather watery; its color is yellow.

The *pusiná-*: Very much esteemed; it is white, inside and outside.

4. SUGAR CANE

247 The Isneg plant sugar cane (*unát*), either to have a supply at hand for suckir the juice (*mańús*) from the culms, or to use it for the preparation of *básІ* (an alcoholic beverage used very extensively) or sugar (less frequently). A single stalk, whether in the *kǭnatán* (field of sugar cane) or near the house yard, is a *palbón*.

To plant sugar cane (*magtálad*), the Isneg first gather (*maxańtát*) a certain amount of *ańtát* (a section of a culm), obtained by lopping (*tagtaggán*) with a hatchet (*aliwá*) the leafy tops of the stalks. Then the women go to the field, armed with a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (*saguuá-* or *itutuná-*), make holes in the ground, and in each of these stick (*sulsúlān*) one cutting (*tálad*). Both *ańtát* and *sappí* (a sucker that grows at the base of a stalk) may be used for cuttings (*tálad*).

To make sure that the canes grow tall, a *labátag* is placed next to the first *tálad* (cutting) that is confided to the soil. The *labátag* is a herbaceous vine, with large round leaves, climbing on trees.

When the women come home after the first day of planting, they are not allowed to touch *báńa*-jars until the next morning.

The most important varieties of *unát* (sugar cane) cultivated by the Isneg are:

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *alimá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alčxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:
539 *Uail* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ña úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét daté dódon kiddí ité nānnā ña alxáw āwánda kanó ña anán daté tólay ta amminán daté dódon./ Kané āwánda ña anán kité mammínda ña natáy ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ña anán ăy imúlada to tabbit nató ababbiú./ Áy to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ña úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampáyān*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampăyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampăyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *anińgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraóń*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyoń*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáńag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dene., but with a different vine.

The *dampanán*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixáy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *mariwag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dene.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuwág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mańúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguró* or the *itutunáy*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

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244 hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

244 When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the
787 tubers (*magsikaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líńan*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

241 Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxūpá*) and
824 other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

262 The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*oĺóń*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tańíńi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátoń* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *síńkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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fruits (*bisi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuña-* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bisi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupidy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busingán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatiti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balidán*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tankúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasimun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamátis* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsi* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *sili*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

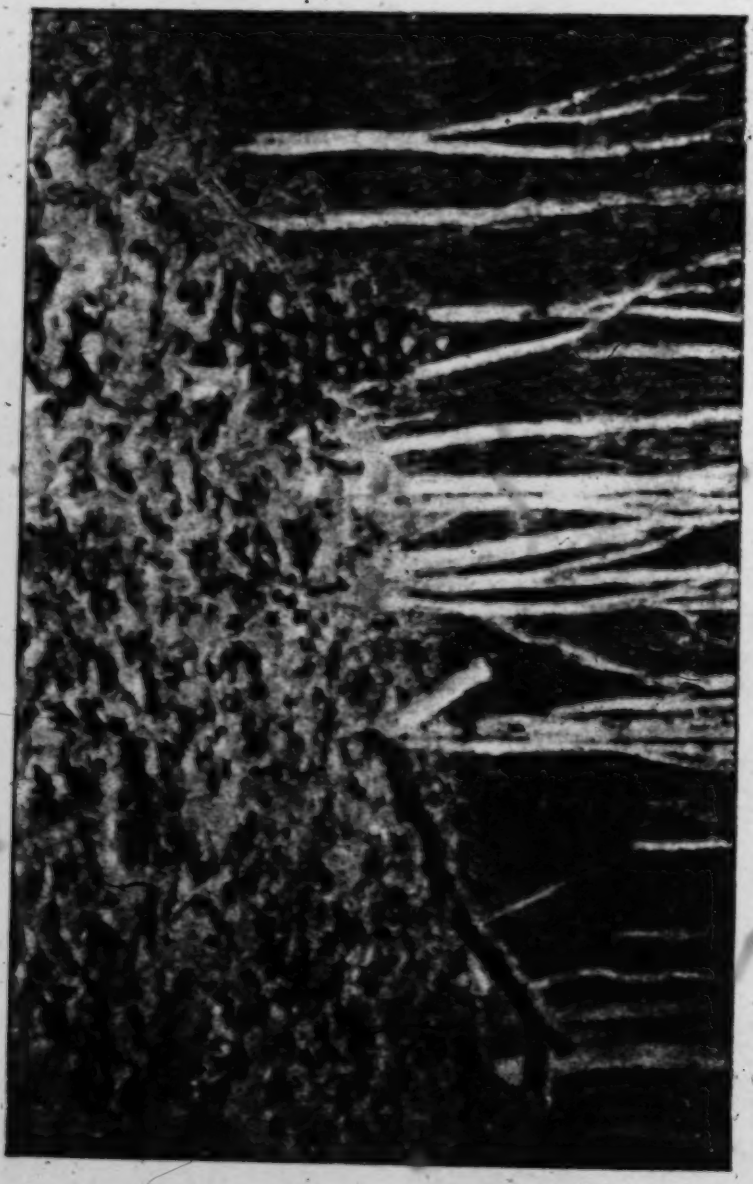
The *amilín*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

244
417



Sweet potatoes grow luxuriantly in the loose ashen earth. The fence is to keep the wild pigs out of this kaingin.

244
291

This girl is supposed to be cultivating her camotes.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244 245]
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest of the work. In two years the soil has become leached and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature *aliwa*. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412